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TABLE 7: CROP YIELDS ON BALI, 1953

Crop	Yield (in Imperial cwt)
Husked rice	
from wet fields	5,007,964
from dry fields	227,806
Maize	1,150,081
Tubers	2,050,201

241
312
[433]

that concept, *subak*. Another edict, dating from 896, mentions, alongside of other *undagis*, or craftsmen, the *undagi pĕngarung*.[15] *Pĕngarung* comes from an Old Balinese root *arung*, which in Modern Balinese has become *aung*, whence are derived *aungan* (tunnel for irrigation water)[16] and *ngaung* (to make an *aungan*). Hence *undagi pĕngarung* means 'tunnel-builder'. If there were already tunnel-builders in 896 it may be assumed that wet-rice farming on Bali is significantly older than that. The modern phase of wet-rice farming is considered in this volume in a study by Grader of the irrigation associations in Jĕmbrana.[17]

5

The Balinese Desa

The people who carry on agriculture live in village communities called *desas*, and the *desa* is the chief social unit on Bali. In central Bali one can see *desa* after *desa* lying in a grove amidst its shelving *sawahs:* a cluster of compounds surrounded by clay walls and planted with clumps of bamboo and with banana, coconut, and other useful trees. 361 ●

From the inscriptions it is known with certainty of various *desas* that they were already in existence a good nine or ten hundred years ago. For the ordinary Balinese the *desa* must in earlier times have figured as the focal point of the universe, considering the frequent recurrence of the name 'navel temple' for one of the three village sanctuaries. (In Balinese as in other Indonesian languages 'navel' has the connotation of 'centre'.)

The *desa* is often defined as a community of worship. An important part of its function does, indeed, lie in the religious 621 714

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field. That function might be defined briefly as the task of maintaining the cosmic balance in the territory of the *desa*, and thus of assuring the well-being of the *desa* inhabitants, by worshipping the divine powers and exorcizing the demonic ones. Each *desa* does this, with ceremonies performed in or nearby its temples. In the *desa* there are differences between inhabitants as regards their functions and their right-of-say, but every group is expected to cooperate in performing the community task by helping to maintain and restore the village temples and to provide offerings and whatever else may be needed for the temple festivals and the ceremonies of purification and exorcism.

It would be one-sided to view the *desa* community exclusively as a community of worship, for it also fulfils a task in the social field. But it is difficult to make a distinction between its social and its religious task, as becomes clear whenever members of a village community go over to another religion. In keeping with the design of this volume, attention will be given particularly to the religious aspects of *desa* life.

6

The Land of the Many Temples

In tourist folders Bali is often advertised as the 'land of the thousand temples'. That such a folder is in error happens quite frequently, but that it errs by understating is a rare exception. Nonetheless that is here the case.

In the earthquake of 1917, 2,431 Balinese temples were destroyed. The stricken area, which was not one of the most densely populated parts of Bali, covered about a ninth of the total surface of the island. This would lead one to set the number of temples on the whole island at more than twenty thousand.[18] A recent figure from the Bureau of Religious Affairs on Bali gave the total number of large and important temples as 4,661.[19]

No student of Bali can afford not to familiarize himself with the extensive temple system and the religion that manifests itself in it. One of the purposes of this volume is to provide materials

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As a matter of course they will seek a place 'higher than the village', in Balinese thus *kaja*,[16] to worship the lord of the ground. This place of veneration is the *pura puseh*[17] or temple of origin, and there, besides the lord of the ground, the villagers will later also worship the deified forefather or clan and village founder, and seek contact with that force. For the graveyard and the *pura dalem* accompanying it (also in its more rudimentary forms) they will seek a place 'lower than the village' (*kelod*).

For their village meetings they choose a spot in the centre of the settlement, for example at a crossroads or the place where the market is held (the two will often coincide). It is quite plausible that in very early times the young men's houses, the accomodations for strangers (that is to say, guests of the village), and perhaps the pavilion for the cockfights were located there. Also the initiation of young people to the status of full members of the *desa* may have taken place there in very early days. (Whether there were originally various initiations, for example first a puberty rite, then later the initiation as *desa* member coinciding with the young man's marriage, need not be considered here.) This centre of the village, with its multiple functions in *desa* life, developed into a temple, the *pura bale agung*, the temple of the large (meeting) hall. It is this temple that Korn describes as "the sacral men's house".[18]

These three temples should be present in every village, and the more traditional villages have all three. But there are remarkable local deviations. In the first place the *pura puseh* may be represented anew in a part of the *pura bale agung*. This representation can be of various kinds. Sometimes there is a separate *pura puseh*, and moreover a chapel for the god of the *puseh* in the *pura bale agung*. At other times there is no separate *pura puseh*, but a place is reserved for it on or next to the grounds of the *pura bale agung*. In this latter case there is always a clear boundary separating the two, whether it is a stone wall, a wall of bamboo, a simple elevation of the ground, or a hedge. The *pura dalem*, too, can be represented in various ways. It is often to be found in front of the main entry to the *pura bale agung*, reduced to a single pavilion or

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792 161 651 361

TABLE 1: THE PĔMAKSAN OF THE MOUNTAIN SANCTUARIES AT TINGAN AND BON

Pĕmăksan	Desa	Number of Inhabitants	Number of Road-Tax Payers
Pĕlaga	Pĕlaga	270	26
	Kiyadan	300	29
	Buklan	300	30
	Nungnung	350	38
Bĕlok	Bĕlok	480	43
	Lawak	260	39
	Bon	250	28
	Sĕkarmukti	230	26
	Jĕmpanang	210	25
Sidan	Sidan	400	83
	Sĕlantang	130	27
	Pĕnikit	110	18
Tingan	Sĕmanik	300	47
	Tingan	480	78
	Tinggan	190	28
	Auman	380	61

792 794 area, since on the death of the functionary at Bĕlok it proved impossible to find a capable replacement.

The group of persons responsible for the care of the temple in the strict sense consists of the core villagers (*kĕrama desa*) of the sixteen villages, that is to say those people working a part of the communal village lands. This does not mean that the other inhabitants of the villages do not take part in the cult of the temples; also non-core villagers go without fail to the temples with their offerings on holy days to present them and pay homage to the deity, but they do so as individuals rather than as members of a group.

Nor is it only the inhabitants of the four *pĕrbĕkĕlans* who present offerings and make their devotions. Everyone who feels the urge to do so may participate, though the usage is restricted to persons who recognize a certain tie with the former principality of Mĕngwi, whether as an individual or as a member of a certain family. According to local informants it frequently happens that even people now living in other regions take part in ceremonies at the two mountain sanctuaries.

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the *paibon*, and to the demonic powers of the four directions by means of the monument in the pond in the inner court. The pond also accentuates the character of the temple as a place where contact with the suprasensory world can be achieved through the intermediary of the *widadaris*. The altars indicate a relationship with the other state sanctuaries of Mĕngwi (the mountain temples of Bon and Tiingan and the sanctuary of origin at Kapal), while there are also links with the sea temples of Ulu Batu and Sĕkenan.

Still to be considered is Pura Prasada at Kapal. The *desa* of Kapal is a short distance to the southeast of the district seat of Mĕngwi, the former capital of the realm.

There are a number of antiquities within the territory of the village. Among these are several statues arranged beside the bathing place in the ravine near the river. This bathing place is well known because there is a pond in its temple where large tame eels are kept (as is also the case in Pura Lingsar in western Lombok); there is also a big stone fish-elephant, but it is of recent date. Stutterheim has described various Buddhist antiquities discovered in the vicinity.[4] A further object of interest is a second small bathing place in the immediate neighbourhood of the residential part of the village which is called Kajuan Kundi after a large hewn-stone water container (*kĕndi*) with an excellently ornamented waterspout. In the background Rama is depicted sitting on a bench patterned after a *sanggar agung*. In the foreground the epic hero is portrayed once more, this time in company with Hanuman and Gĕntayu (Jatayu). Underneath this depiction is the surface from which the spout protrudes. The sculpture there portrays Rahwana with his cudgel in his right hand and with his left arm embracing Sita, seated on the mount Wilmana, whose beak serves as the spout proper.

The chief antiquities of the village, however, are to be found in Pura Prasada, and consist of a number of fragments of sculpture and a split gate ornamented with a large monster's head which was restored by the Archeological Survey in the latter half of 1949. Until recently there was nothing but a crumbled base and

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361 a few fragments left of the former *prasada*, the tower-shaped brick
172 structure from which the sanctuary took its name. The structure was completely destroyed during the great earthquake of 1917. Now a new *prasada* has been built by the people of the *desa* at the place where the former one stood. The way in which it was constructed deserves brief mention. Data for the notes which follow have been borrowed from an article by Dronkers, supplemented by information acquired on the spot.[3]

792 The direct stimulus to the restoration was the fact that the *barong*
789 stored in one of the temple buildings in the southeast corner of the inner court caught fire as a result of carelessness. A number of larger *puras* have a *barong* which is kept in a separate building on the temple grounds. Examples are Pura Pĕnataran Sasih at Pejeng, which is known for its extraordinarily large kettle drum, and Pura Tambangan Badung near Den Pasar. An important rôle as regards the *barong* is played by Pura Pĕngĕrebongan at Kĕsiman, where once every Balinese-Javanese year of two hundred ten days, on Sunday-Pon in the week of Mĕdangsia, the *barongs* from the country around are assembled in large numbers to be consecrated anew. It has not been sufficiently studied whether the *barong* may belong to one temple in particular, for example in view of the cycle of legends associated with it. In any case it can be said that the *barong* (and the *barong* play) are attributed great power in banishing evil influences.

The burning of the *barong* at Kapal provided the direct stimulus to restoring the *prasada*. Within the framework of Balinese thought this reason is a quite acceptable one. In many cases the restoration of a temple is only begun if a command has been received from the deity. Such a divine pronouncement is made known by means of a medium. Especially in times of disease, pestilence, and disaster people are on the lookout to be informed of their possible shortcomings vis-à-vis the world of the gods by means of such divine pronouncements.

792 The restoration of Pura Prasada required a great deal of sacrifice
185 in money and labour: Dronkers mentions the sum of a hundred fifty thousand guilders. The spectacular plan of restoration has

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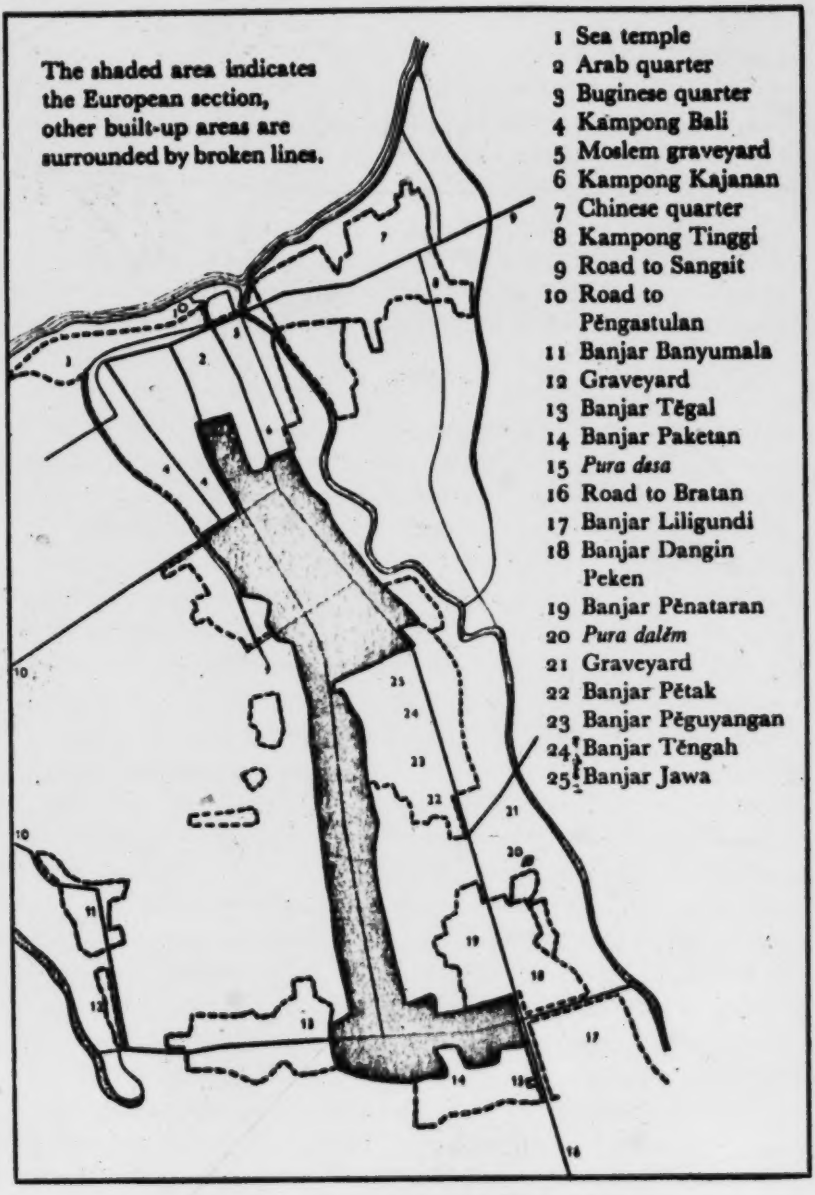

PLAN OF THE DESA OF BULELENG

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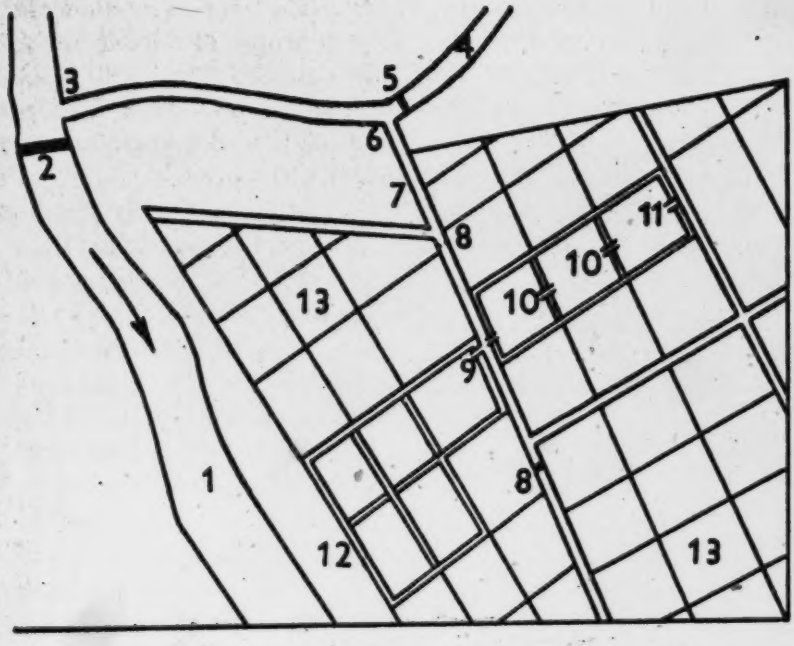

SYSTEM OF WATER DISTRIBUTION IN A SUBAK

1 River
2 Weir
3 *Subak* inlet
4 Conduit
5 Distribution block
6 Secundary inlet
7 Branch conduit
8 Secundary distribution block
9 *Kĕsit* inlet
10 Passage between *sawahs* within *kĕsit*
11 Overflow
12 *Sawah* dike
13 *Sawah* plot

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621 361 This *desa* is completely different from the ordinary Balinese village in appearance. Extending roughly five hundred yards from north to south and two hundred fifty yards from east to west, it gives the impression of being a compact settlement built according to a preconceived plan. Three broad main streets with rows of guava trees down the middle divide the village into four large, approximately equal strips, each subdivided into two or three blocks of compounds by side streets set at right angles to the main streets. Running water streams through the stone gutters beside the streets and along the rear of the compounds.

The village lies locked between the ravine to the south mentioned above, the Pandĕk River (with little water) to the west, and the row of foothills to the east. The northern limit consists of a *desa* street and the *kaja-kauh* (northwestern) bathing place, which, like the street and compound gutters, receives its water from a conduit dug through rough terrain from the Buhu River, running through the eastern part of the village territory.

Since the *desa* rises sharply to the north the streets are terraced. The transitions from one terrace to another consist of steep inclines of river stones.

One's attention is particularly attracted by the unbroken row of serried roofs of coconut leaf and palm fibre on either side of the streets. At first sight they seem to form one long house, because of the peculiar location of the dwellings and other buildings in the compounds. The compounds, surrounded by walls half of stone and half of clay, are roughly twenty yards deep and fifteen yards across. A small stone incline leads from the street to the plain stone compound gate (*jĕlanan awang*) with its wooden door, which is closed at night. Often small holes are left open near the ground on either side of the gate so that the dogs can get in and out. Higher up on both sides are the offering niches (*bĕlong jĕlanan*), usually triangular in shape.

342 Upon entering the compound one finds oneself beneath an oblong roof stretching along the street side, with the space to the right used as a place to store agricultural and other equipment, and that to the left as the *bale buga*. This *bale* is specifically Tĕngan-

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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ary cleansing. There is also a small gate to the *tĭba* from the pig-342
pen, and the omnivorous pigs serve to keep the area cleaned up.

At various places in the walls of the buildings there are *bĕlongs* or offering niches, for example in the *paon*, the *bale siyadandan*, the *gĕdong*, and the *bale buga*, which last niche is known as *bĕlong alingaling*.[3] In the walls on the street side there are several blind windows.

This description of a Tĕngananese compound holds true for most of the compounds in the village, though there are some of slightly larger dimensions. The uniform architecture gives the village a well-groomed appearance, and that impression is reinforced by the fact that the attractive assembly halls and other public buildings are also laid out in one line.

A disproportionally large *desa* territory belongs to this residential 361
village of approximately thirty acres. There is a legend regarding 311
the origin of the *desa* territory that is current in various versions. 538
Long, long ago the ruler of Bedahulu had a favourite horse, pitch black with a white tail, that was also much in the favour of the ruler's groom (*i pĕkatik*). Once, in the heat of battle, the ruler lost his horse. He sent his subjects out to seek the animal: he sent the *pandes mas*, the goldsmiths, to the northwest, where they established themselves as the Bratanese, and the *pandes wĕsi*, the blacksmiths, to the east. Led by the *pĕkatik*, Onche Sĕraya,' the *pandes wĕsi* finally came to Chandi Dasa, where the *pĕkatik* found the horse dead in the forest. He immediately informed the ruler, who asked, "Tell me, groom, do you still cherish love for my horse?" To which the *pĕkatik* answered humbly, "Hail, exalted ruler of the world; if you have no objections, I pray you to allow me to keep vigil over the body of the horse in the forest; when I die, let it be beside the horse, for my love for it has not diminished." The ruler of Bedahulu answered, "This is your considered request; so be it. But then you must accept a favour from me. See how far you can trace the smell of the body in the neighbourhood; as far as it reaches, so far shall the territory extend which I grant you as a sign of my gratitude for the love you bear my horse."[4] And the

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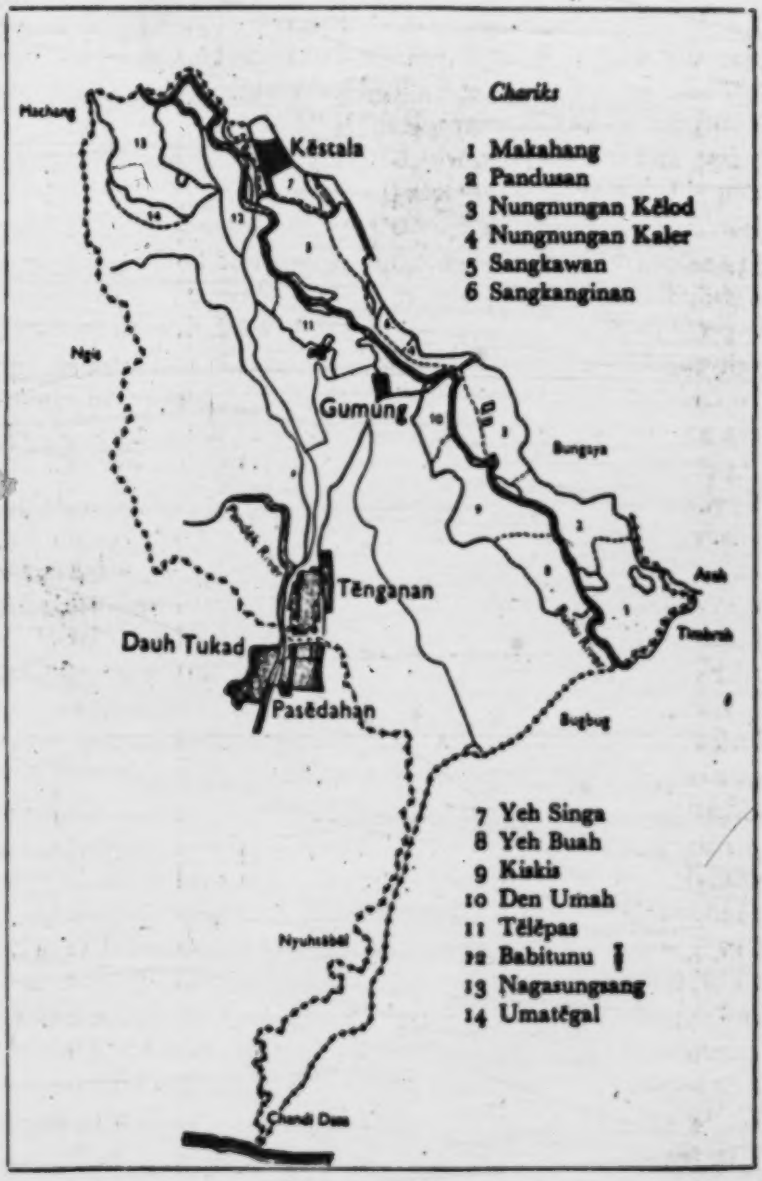

THE DESA TERRITORY OF TĔNGANAN

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pĕkatik requested the ruler's permission to return to the corpse. As soon as he arrived he chopped the animal into pieces and carried them in various directions, so that the smell of the corpse spread over a larger area. The territory he acquired in this way comprised the present village territory of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. On the spot where Onche Sĕraya found the body, there still stands the *pura batu manggar*, nearby Chandi Dasa in the south. In the west, where he took the thighs, is the *pura pĕpuhon;* in the north, where the belly was placed, is the *pura batu kĕbĕn;* and in the east, where he left the entrails, is the *pura tai kik*. Then there are the *pura rambut pule* in the northeast, the *pura pĕnimbalan* in the southeast, and the *pura kaki dukun* in the centre, where Onche Sĕraya deposited the horse's head, forelegs, and scrotum respectively. At all these places there are peculiarly shaped stones which are revered as parts of the horse. All Tĕngananese coming from the *pasar* at Sibĕtan or Bĕbandĕm place an offering on the *kaki dukun*. The worshipping of stones is customary throughout Bali, but particularly in Karangasĕm. Everywhere one comes across stones of somewhat unusual shapes or extraordinary dimensions that have been set up, and where offerings are made. In the *pura pĕtung* there are nothing but large stones on the offering platforms.[5]

In another version of the legend the *pĕkatik* carried a piece of the horse's body in his bamboo walking stick as he went around with the official who had been charged by the ruler to check how far the smell of the corpse could be detected. A third version makes the horse the property of the well-known priest Wau Rauh.[6]

The *desa* territory has a small stretch of beach, the Pasi Chandi Dasa, named after the Hindu Chandi Dasa in the territory of the *desa* of Bungaya, where there is a statue of Hariti.[7] In earlier times the village is said to have been located on this beach and to have borne the name of Panĕgĕs, according to some people called after the village of Tĕgĕs, between Pĕliatan and Bedahulu in Gianyar, whence the Tĕngananese are said to hail. But the dwellings were constantly being destroyed by the sea, so the people moved further inland – *ngĕlĕngahang* this is called, which gave rise to the name

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361 311 538 Tĕnganan:[1] The village came to be called Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan because of the skill of the village women in making *gĕringsing* fabrics. The village boundaries are described in detail in the *desa* constitution.

621 133 The topography is extremely rough. The footpaths are very hard to traverse especially in the rainy season, and several expeditions through the *desa* territory and to other villages in the neighbourhood helped me understand why the region of Karangasĕm was earlier described by the military patrols as *kurang asĕm*, 'short of breath'. Running through the western part of the village territory from north to south is the Pandĕk River, and in the eastern part the Buhu River streams through a fine complex of *sawahs*. There are two other settlements in the *desa* territory. Kĕstala, Wra Kĕstala, or Ora Kĕstala in the north is a hamlet of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan founded owing to special circumstances. Gumung, a few miles to the north of Tĕnganan, is a daughter *desa* of the village of Bungaya. Both settlements have their own territory, the first as a *banjar*, and the second as a *desa*.

621 [162] In 1926 the total population of the village proper of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan was 603, of which 415 could be considered as full-fledged citizens. The others were either people born elsewhere or people who had transgressed village customs in one way or another. Anyone used to the sturdy figure of Balinese farmers is struck by the none-too-healthy appearance of these valley inhabitants. This is probably to be attributed in part to the fact that the closed-in location of the village leads to a sultry temperature during the day. On the other hand the village has the advantage of significantly longer cool periods, since the sun rises later over the eastern hills and disappears earlier behind those to the west than is the case in the open plains, and moreover the absence of stagnant water, even in the remotest corners of the village, has [164] the result that there are very few mosquitoes, and so no malaria. Other possible causes for the less vigorous appearance of the people are the idle way of life of the actual core of the population and the high degree of inbreeding. The members of the village

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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[Frontispiece, part A]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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[Frontispiece, part B]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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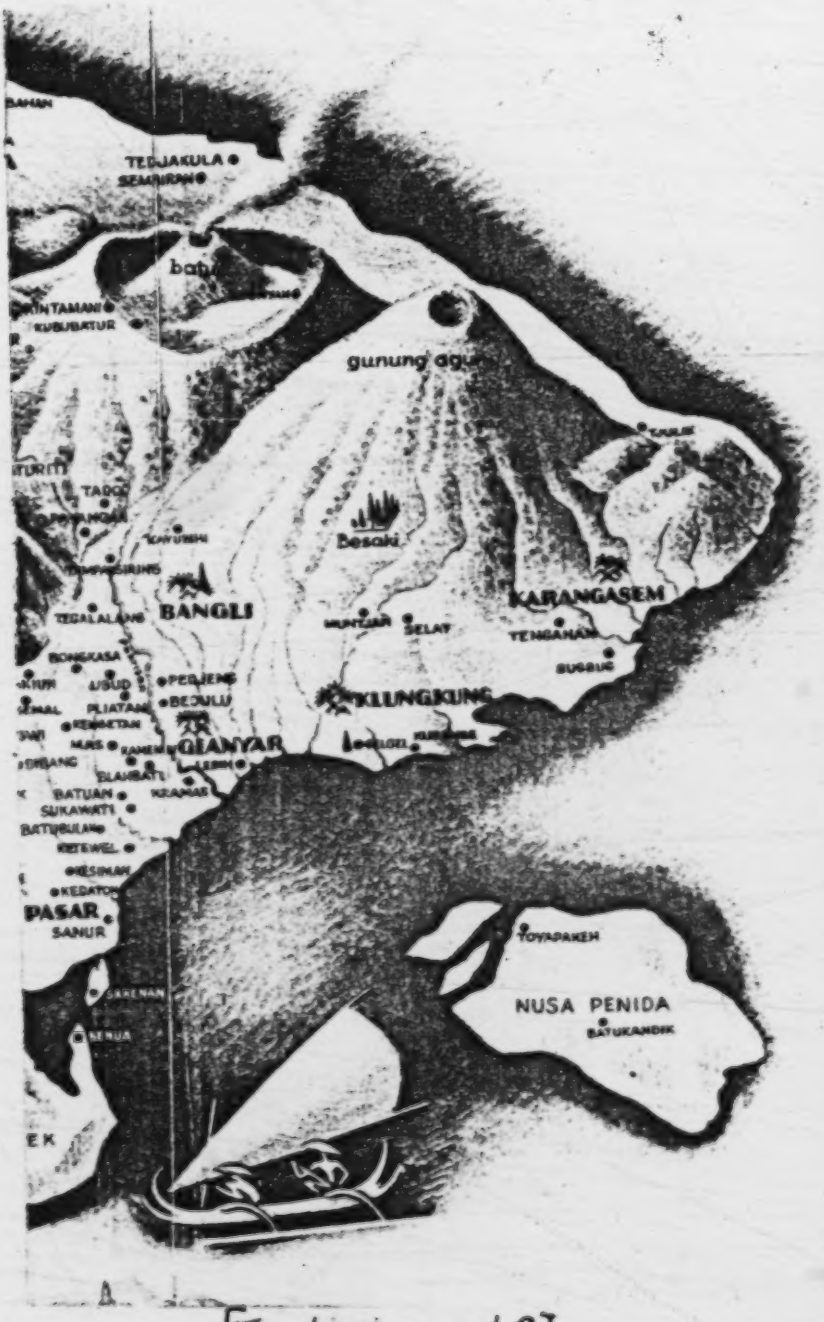

[Frontispiece, part C]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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439 statuettes made by beginners or the gaudy weavings dyed with anilines to the fine old pieces of wood-carving or to the sumptuous ancient textiles that now rarely find their way into the curio market.

361 Den Pasar is a glorified Buleleng. In the great "alun-alun," the playground of Den Pasar, stolid Hollanders play tennis and drink beer near young Balinese playing soccer in striped sweatshirts, shorts, and spiked shoes. All around the square are the homes of the leading white residents, neat and bourgeois, small bungalows with enormous pink embroidered lampshades on every porch and well-kept front gardens of imported roses. The 366 business street leading to the market consists, as in Buleleng, of the same squalid shops, provision stores, gasoline pumps, a small Chinese hotel, and curio stalls with mass-production "Balinese art," all kept by the same Chinese compradors, the same bearded Bombay merchants with eagle-like beaks, dressed like burlesque comedians in incongruous tall fezzes, embroidered slippers, pink sarongs, and European vests worn over shirts with tails out, bargaining excitedly with husky bare-breasted Balinese women.

117 After the first bewildering days, when we had recovered from the shock of such distressing impressions as these, we began to "discover" the real Bali. Only a block away from the square, on the dirt-paved lanes adjacent to the main avenues, where the peace is not broken by mad automobiles running over pigs and chickens, we found the typical mud walls of the compounds, the thatched gates protected by mysterious signs — a dead chicken nailed flat on a wall, or a little white flag inscribed with cabalistic symbols. These were the proper setting for the lithe brown-skinned women returning from market with baskets of fruit on their heads and for the men in loincloths sitting in groups around the baskets in which they kept their favourite fighting cocks. Energetic women thresh rice or bathe quite unconcerned in the ditch by the roadside, and serious naked children play in the middle of the street with a cricket they have just captured. From

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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son to the narrowest point of the tongue of land; when the young prince had disappeared from sight, to further emphasize the separation, he drew a line with his finger across the sands. The waters met and Bali became an island.

The dangers lurking in the waters around the island suggest a possible reason why Bali remained obscure and unconquered until 1908. Besides the strong tidal currents and the great depths of the straits, the coasts are little indented and are constantly exposed to the full force of the monsoons; where they are not bordered by dangerous coral banks, they rise from the sea in steep cliffs. Anchorage is thus out of the question except far out to sea, and the Dutch have had to build an artificial port in Benua to afford a berth for small vessels.

One of the volcanoes, the Gunung Batur (5,633 feet), is still active. In the centre of the old crater an enormous amphitheatre ten miles across by a mile in depth rises like a dark blister, the smoking cone of a more recent crater (see map), its sides covered with the black lava spilled out into the great bowl of the older crater in the latest eruption. It is said that this lava has not yet cooled deep down, and when the rain water seeps through the cracks it turns into clouds of steam. Half-circling the new crater is the peaceful, misty lake Batur, its shores dotted with the ancient villages of the oldest present inhabitants of the island. In former times the prosperous village of Batur rose at the foot of the volcano, but today only the villages across the crater remain, those on the safe side of the lake. One day the Batur began to growl and in 1917 it burst into a violent eruption accompanied by earthquakes. The whole of the island was affected, and 65,000 homes, 2,500 temples and 1,372 lives were lost. The lava engulfed the village of Batur, but stopped at the very gate of the temple. The villagers took the miracle as a good omen and continued to live there. In August 1926, however, a new eruption buried the sacred temple under the molten lava, this time with the loss of one life, an old woman who died of fright. The people of Batur, unable to break the spell that links their destinies to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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133 the mountain, rebuilt their village high up on the rim of the outer
361 crater, renamed it Kububatur, and will probably remain there until again driven away by the anger of the volcano.

773 According to legend, Bali was originally a flat, barren island.
823 When Java fell to the Mohammedans, the disgusted Hindu gods decided to move to Bali, but it became necessary for them to build dwelling-places high enough for their exalted rank. So they created the mountains, one for each of the cardinal points. The highest, Gunung Agung, was erected at the east, the place of honour; the Batur at the north; the Batukau at the west; and since there had to be one for the south, the raised tableland (Tafelhoek) of Bukit Petjatu became the seat of the patron of the south.[1] The Batur is venerated in its neighbourhood, and
778 the Batukau is holy to the villages on its slopes, but it is the
823 Gunung Agung, Bali's highest mountain (10,560 feet) that is most sacred to the whole of the island. Half-way up the mountain is the mother temple for all Bali, the great Besakih with its impressive stone gate and its hundreds of towers thatched with sugar-palm fibre. The Gunung Agung is regarded as the Navel (*puséh*) of the World. It is to the Balinese what Kailasa and Meru are to the Hindus of India. As Mahameru it is the Cosmic Mountain, the Father of All Humanity.

186 To the Balinese, Bali is the entire world. Knowledge of the
772 other nations of which they are conscious – China, Java, and Europe – does not influence their belief in the least. They are simply other worlds that have no relation to their own conception of the earth. There is an old manuscript which gives a description of the structure of the world. Although not very highly regarded by scholars, it gives us the popular Balinese conception of the cosmos, especially as it justifies their faith that Bali is the world. The following are excerpts from a free translation:

539 "At the bottom of everything there is magnetic iron, but in
772

[1] In other versions, the mountains from East Java were moved to Bali. In the Tjatur Yoga it is recorded that the Gunung Agung went to the center, the Batur to the north, Mount Rentjani (the peak of Lombok) to the east, Tafelhoek to the south, and Batukau to the west.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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noses, and fine mouths; others have the concave, flat, broad noses, the squinty eyes, bulging foreheads, and prognathic jaws of the more primitive Indonesians. Thus the Balinese of today are the same people as the Hindu-Javanese of pre-Mohammedan Java, in the sense that they both underwent the same racial and cultural influences.

THE ANCIENT SURVIVAL: THE BALI AGA

At one time the island was populated by pure Indonesians, an ancient people who filed and blackened their teeth. They lived in small communities, family clans ruled by a council of Elders who acted as the priests of their religion. Their cult centred in the worship of the powerful spirits of nature, and especially those of their ancestors, with whom they continued to live, a great family of both the dead and the living. Occasionally, by means of mediums and sacrifices, they brought their ancestral spirits down to this earth to protect them. They buried their dead or simply abandoned them in the jungle to be carried away by the spirits, and it is possible that they even ate parts of the bodies in order to absorb the magic power inherent in their ancient headmen.

The pure descendants of these people, calling themselves Bali Aga or Bali Mula, the "original" Balinese, still live, isolated and independent, in the mountains where they found refuge from imperialistic strangers. Hidden in the hills of East Bali, near Karangasem, lies the village of Tenganan, where the most conservative of the Bali Aga preserve the old traditions with the greatest zeal. Tenganan is a rabidly isolated community, socially and economically separate from the rest of Bali, almost a republic in itself. It is shut off from the world by a solid wall that surrounds the entire village, which is meant to keep outsiders away, and is broken only by four gates, each facing one of the cardinal points. Of these gates, three open to the gardens and plantations of the village, but the main gate is so narrow that a stout person has difficulty in squeezing through. Such is the obsession for

Such is the obsession for
184 isolation in Tenganan that there is an official specially appointed
361 to sweep the village after the visits of strangers, to obliterate their
[609] footprints.

We became acquainted with I-Tanggú, a youngish man with
[115] fingernails four inches long, who was the *perbekel* of Tenganan, the representative of his village with the Dutch Government. We were surprised to find him quite sociable. Once we played host to him in Den Pasar and from then on we were often invited to visit Tenganan. Unlike the rest of the villages in Bali, there is hardly any vegetation around the Tenganan houses, which are all exactly alike and are arranged in rows on each side of stone-paved avenues. In the central place is the council house where the Elders meet, a long shed about ten feet wide by some seventy feet long, strongly built and apparently very old. Farther along are other buildings for public use, the purpose of some kept a secret. The most curious are the unique mill for grinding *kemiri*
[252] nuts to obtain oil, and the wooden Ferris-wheel, usually dis-
[788] mantled, in which the women revolve for hours in a strange rite. The dwelling of I-Tanggú is just like all the others: a small gate
342 reached by a flight of steps leads into a court in which are the sleeping-quarters, the kitchen, and a long house for relatives and
[775] for storage. There is also a small empty shrine where the spirits may rest when they visit their descendants.

184 The people of Tenganan are tall, slender, and aristocratic in a
[142] rather ghostly, decadent way, with light skins and refined man-
[302] ners. The majority of the men still wear their hair long. They are proud and look down even on the Hindu-Balinese nobility, who respect them and leave them alone. They live in a strange
423 communistic or, rather, patriarchal-communalistic system in which individual ownership of property is not recognized and in which even the plans and measurements of the houses are set and alike for everybody. The village of Tenganan owns communally enormous tracts of fertile and well-cultivated lands that fill every need of the village and make it one of the richest in the

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into the dye, so that the tied part remains uncoloured to produce the design. This is repeated with each colour, the part already dyed also protected by the fibre binding. When the threads are finally coloured and ready to be woven, the design of the weft is fitted exactly into the one on the warp, and a mistake spoils the work of years. Taking into consideration the laboriousness of the dyeing, the painstaking, difficult weaving, and the mystery that surrounds the secret process, it is easy to understand why the popular mind has endowed the *kamben gringsing* with such extraordinary powers. In Tenganan the scarfs are an essential part of ceremonial dress, and I-Tanggú told me that if he sold his he would lose his place in the village council. Only the finest scarfs are worn in Tenganan; imperfect ones or those in which the dyes fail to produce the required tones are sold to outsiders.

In North Bali, on the slopes of the Batur, above Tedjakula, is the Bali Aga village of Sembiran, where even the daily language is different from that of the rest of Bali. There, as in Tenganan, the " temple " is a group of rough stone altars surrounded by a neglected fence. It is hidden in the jungle near the edge of a deep ravine, a dangerous haunted place, where not even the people of Sembiran would venture alone. In Sembiran the dead are not buried; after washing the corpse, it is wrapped in new cloth, carried to the edge of the ravine, and deposited on a bamboo platform with offerings, consecrated water, and the belongings of the deceased. There it is left for three days; if, after that, it has not disappeared, this means that the spirits did not care to take it, so it is thrown unceremoniously into the ravine to be eaten by wild beasts.

There are many other mountain villages that have resisted the influence of Hinduism. Although not as extraordinary as Tenganan and Sembiran, they are equally conservative Bali Aga, like Trunyan on the shores of Lake Batur, where the largest statue in Bali is kept, that of Ratú Gedé Pantjering Djagat, powerful patron guardian of the village. There is Taro, the home of Kbó Iwá, a fearful giant of pre-Hindu days who was so great that there

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was never enough food to feed him and he went about eating people. To provide him with a place to sleep, the villagers of Taro built the longest council house in Bali. He is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments and sculptured caves with his own fingernails. In the highlands between the Batur and the Bratan, the Gunung Agung and the Batukau, there are many Bali Aga villages, and in some, like Selulung, Batukaang, and Tjatur, there are remains of ancient and primitive monuments; stone statues and small pyramids, some of which are purely Indonesian in character, while others show early Hindu, perhaps Buddhist influence. In the Bali Aga villages there is much that remains of the ancient race who once inhabited all of Bali, but who were to become the fascinating Balinese of today.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF BALI

It seems difficult to reconcile the soft-mannered, peace-loving Balinese we know with the intrigue and violence of their turbulent past. For a thousand years the history of the island is a series of wars and heroic episodes that reached a dramatic climax only thirty years ago when the Balinese made a desperate but futile last stand against a modern army.

Bali was under the rule of Javanese kings from the earliest days of Hindu Java, but we first hear of Balinese dynasties in the tenth century of our era. In 991 A.D. a child was born of a Balinese king and a Javanese princess. He was named Erlangga and was sent to Java to marry a princess and to become a local chief in the kingdom of his father-in-law. Dharmawangsa, the ruler, was murdered suddenly and Erlangga took charge, saving the kingdom from total collapse and bringing it into even greater glory. Erlangga ruled during thirty difficult years, creating a strong bond between Java and his native Bali, which was then governed by Erlangga's brother in his name. Then, as befits a model hero of Hindu ideas, Erlangga suddenly renounced the kingdom he had made great and died a hermit under the guidance of his religious teacher, Mpú Bharada. Erlangga's kingdom was nearly

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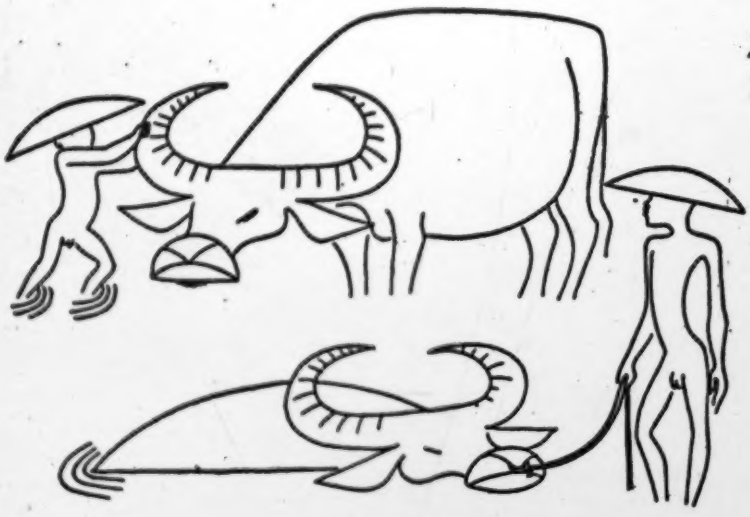
CHAPTER III



231
291

THE COMMUNITY

THE VILLAGE

The capitals of the princes' districts, the seats of the regencies, 361 ●
are commercialized half-European, half-Chinese towns like Den [621]
Pasar and Buleleng; but the true life of Bali is concentrated in
thousands of villages and hamlets. With their thatched roofs
they lie buried under awnings of tropical vegetation, the groves
and gardens that provide for the needs of the villagers. Out of
the chartreuse sea of ricefields they surge like dark green islands [245]
of tall palms, breadfruit, mango, papaya, and banana trees.

Underneath the cool darkness, pierced only by the shafts of 351
sunlight that sift through the mesh of leaves, are the houses hid-
den from view by interminable mud walls that are broken at regu-
lar intervals by long narrow gates. All the gates are alike: two
mud pillars supporting a small roof of thick thatch, giving access

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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351 to each household by a raised doorstep of rough stones. In front of every gate is a stone bridge, or, simpler still, a section of coconut tree trunk to ford the deep irrigation ditch that runs invariably along both sides of the road.

● 361 [351] A simple village consists of family compounds, each completely surrounded by walls, lined on each side of a wide well-built avenue that runs in the direction of the cardinal points; from the mountain to the sea, the Balinese equivalent to our "north" and "south." The villages grew as they spread in these direc- [491] tions, and the Dutch had only to pave the main streets and extend them through the ricefields to obtain the five-hundred-mile net of automobile roads that covers this small island.

363 The Balinese, being still essentially pedestrians, took good care to shade the roads with large trees, and every morning and every evening one sees the people in the streets, men going to work nonchalantly beating rhythms on their agricultural implements, or returning from the fields overloaded with sheaves of rice heavy with grain. Poised women come and go with great loads or shiny [482] black clay pots on their heads. If it happens to be market day in the village, at dawn the roads are crowded with husky people from the near-by villages who come to sell their produce — piles of [438] coconuts, bananas, or vegetables, pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth — carrying on their heads even the table that serves as a stand. If there is a feast in the village temple, the people parade [292] in yellow, green, and magenta silks with fantastic pyramids of [796] fruit and flowers, offerings to the gods, in a pageant that would have made Diaghilev turn green with envy.

291 231 857 Naked children play at the gates by the bell-shaped baskets where the fighting cocks are kept. Each morning the baskets are lined out on the street so that the roosters may enjoy the spectacle of people passing by. Small boys wearing only oversize sun-hats drive the enormous water-buffaloes, which in Bali appear in two colours, a dark muddy grey, and a pale, almost transparent pink, 231 an albino variety. A water-buffalo will not hesitate to attack a 857 tiger; their ponderous calm and their gigantic horns are awe-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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231 great choruses. The Balinese are not disturbed by them and sleep peacefully through the hideous noise. The curs are supposed to [776] frighten away witches and evil spirits, but I could never discover how our neighbours knew when it was an ordinary mortal and not a devil that the dogs barked at; they always awoke when a stranger came into the house at night. Such dogs were undoubtedly provided by the gods to keep Bali from perfection.

361 The Balinese make a clear differentiation between the [311] dwelling-grounds and the "unlived" parts of the village, those for public use such as the temples, assembly halls, market, cemeteries, public baths. The village is a unified organism in which [621] every individual is a corpuscle and every institution an organ. The heart of the village is the central square, invariably located in the "centre" of the village, the intersection of the two main avenues: the big road that runs from the Balinese "North-South" and a street that cuts it at right angles from "East-West." Consequently the crossroads are the centre of a Rose of [823] the Winds formed by the entire village; the cardinal directions mean a great deal to the Balinese and the crossroads are a magic spot of great importance.

All around and in the square are the important public places of the village; the town temple (*pura desa*) (A), with its hall of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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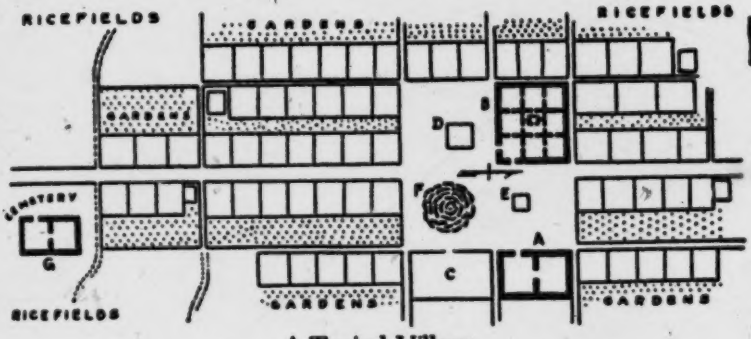
assembly (*balé agung*), the palace of the local feudal prince (B), the market (C), the large shed for cockfights (*wantilan*) (D), and the tall and often elaborate tower where hang the alarm tomtoms (*kulkul*) (E) to call to meetings, announce events, or warn of dangers. Also important to the village life is the ever present *waringin* (F), a giant banyan, the sacred tree of the Hindus, planted in the square. Under its shadow take place the



A Typical Village

A — Pura Desa
B — Puri
C — Market
D — Wantilan
E — Kulkul Tower
F — Waringin
G — Pura Dalam

shows and dances given in connection with the frequent festivals; market is also held there in villages that do not have a special market enclosure. In ancient villages the *waringin* grows to a giant size, shading the entire square and dripping aerial roots that, unless clipped before they reached the ground, would grow into trunks that unchecked might swallow up a village. A beautiful village *waringin* is an enormous rounded dome of shiny leaves supported by a mossy, gnarled single trunk hung with a curtain of tentacles that are cut evenly at the height of a man; but in the *waringins* that have grown freely outside the village, the tree spreads in every direction in fantastic shapes. The aerial filaments dig into the earth and grow into whitish trunks and branches emerging at illogical angles and filled with parasite ferns, a dreamlike forest that is in reality a single tree.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Somewhere in the outskirts of the village are the public baths and the cemetery, a neglected field overgrown with weeds and decaying bamboo altars, with its temple of the Dead (c) and its mournful *kepuh* tree, a sad and eerie place. The bathing-place is generally a cool spot shaded by clusters of bamboo in the river that runs near the village, where all day long men and women bathe in the brown water in separate modest groups. Some villages have special bathing-places with fancy water-spouts and low walls of carved stone, with separate compartments for men and women. Tedjakula in North Bali is famous for its horse bath, a special compartment that is larger and even more elaborate than the baths for the people.

THE MARKET

Important towns have great utilitarian markets of cement and galvanized tin where shrewd Arabs and Chinese keep regular shops of cloth and imported knick-knacks, but the average *desa* holds market under the shadow of the *waringin* or under square shades of straw mats like umbrellas. A few people sell there every day; the " big " market takes place every third day of the religious calendar. There are " market associations " organized in groups of three *desas* that work together, holding market in rotation every day in each of the three villages. The women are the financiers that control the market; one seldom sees men in it, except in certain trades or to help carry such a load as a fat pig. Even the money-changers are women, who sit behind little tables filled with rolls of small change, *kepeng*, Chinese brass coins with a hole in the middle, worth a small fraction of a cent (about five to seven to a cent according to the current exchange). These coins are strung into rolls of two hundred, called *satak* (one string of twenty-five cents). Prices in the market vary according to the buyer; they are lowest to the villager in his home town, slightly higher for the Balinese of other villages, and considerably higher to foreigners. This is customary and understandable if one takes into consideration the communal spirit of the village

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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342 of the materials employed, the workmanship, and of course in the larger and richer family temple. The fundamental plan is based on the same rules for everyone. Only the great palace (*puri*) of the local ruling prince is infinitely more elaborate, with a lily pond, compartments for the Radja's brothers and his countless wives, a great temple divided into three courts, and even special [841] sections for the preservation of the corpses and for the seclusion of "impure" palace women during the time of menstruation.

The household of Gedog, our next-door neighbour in Bela- 351 luan, was typical; the place of honour, the higher "north-east" 346 corner of the house towards the mountain,[1] was occupied by the 778 *sanggah kemulan*, the family temple where Gedog worshipped his ancestors. The *sanggah* was an elemental version of the formal village temple: a walled space containing a number of little empty god-houses and a shed for offerings. The main shrine, dedicated to the ancestral souls, was a little house on stilts divided into three compartments, each with a small door. There were other small shrines for the two great mountains – the Gunung Agung and Batur – and for the *taksú* and *ngurah*, the "interpreter" and "secretary" of the deities. In Gedog's house the altars were of bamboo with thatch roofs, but in the home of Gusti's uncle, the noble judge who lived across the road, the family shrine was as elaborate as the village temple, with a moat, carved stone gates, brick altars, and expensive roofs of sugar-palm fibre. Such a temple is not a modest *sanggah*, but receives the more impressive name of *pameradjan*. Noble people pay special attention to the shrine for the deer-god Mendjangan [825] Seluang, the totemic animal of the descendants of Madjapahit, the Javanese masters of Bali.

342 Next in importance to the temple was the *uma metén*, the sleeping-quarters of Gedog and his wife, built towards the moun-

[361] [823] [1] Endless ill luck would follow whoever ignored the laws of rank and built a dwelling at a level higher than a temple. The Balinese have resented the building of a Government rest-house on a hill above the holy temple of Tirta Empul in Tampaksiring, and our servant Pugog insisted he could not bring his wife to Tjampuan because the temple across the ravine was at a lower level than the house, and intercourse with a woman there could only result in a catastrophe.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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mine visited the temple on that day, accompanied by his two wives and two children, approximately eight and ten years old. All carried offerings and supplies of food and betel for the journey, but no member of the little group could be said to be heavily laden. They started "in the hour before dawn," which would be about five o'clock in the morning. When I arrived at the temple by motor they were seated outside taking their meal, having already made their prayers and presented their offerings. Shortly afterward they must have started homeward, for I passed them on my return, proceeding at an even steady pace along the road. At half-past three in the afternoon they reached home, apparently not the least exhausted by their walk of over fifty miles, as registered on the speedometer of my car. Even if one assumes that they spent only half-an-hour at the temple, they covered the fifty miles in ten hours, averaging certainly no less than five miles an hour. The road led up and down over several steep hills, and at least half of the way through arid fields, with no tree to give shade. This family, whose expedition I was able to time, was only one of hundreds visiting the temple on that day, and their excursion was in no sense unusual.

Physical Exertion and Well-Being

A great part of the land lying between the high mountain district and the shore is formed in longitudinal ridges which run parallel to each other, and no great distance apart. Between these ridges are the steep-walled ravines, where the rivers flow, and where are found most of the drinking and bathing springs. Villages are apt to be placed on the high ground, so that in inter-village traffic, walkers going North and South follow an easy up or down grade along the top of the ridge. But a person travelling East and West finds many a steep climb and precipitous descent along his path. Every member of the family is accustomed to go down at least once a day to the river or the bathing-place for his bath, and many must climb up and down several times in a day—the women and girls carrying water for household needs, the men going to and fro in their work in the steeply terraced rice-fields, the small boys escorting their special charges, the ducks and the water buffalo, down from the dry ground for their daily immersion. Mothers carry babies on their hips, at the same time balancing a forty-pound jar of water on their heads, yet never do they waver in their erect posture nor vary their slow even pace on the steep and often slippery incline. Little girls of five

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

the eldest son, at the paternal house with his wife and children, to succeed the old man at his death. But this does not always happen, and as we shall see in other cases, it is more usually the older brothers who move out one by one and set up new households, leaving the youngest boy to succeed and take over the paternal house. (Daughters do not inherit property.) It may be that the desire for independence, when newly married, prompts the elder brother to depart, leaving his right of succession to the youngest.

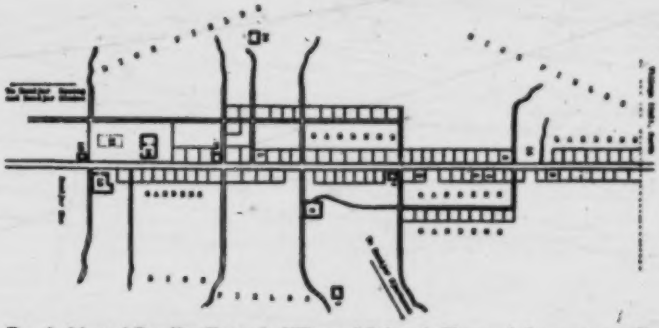


FIG. 3. Map of Bandjar Koetoeh, Village of Sajan. 1, House of the great-grandfather, Gentoeh-Njadet-Keroenă; 2, House of Géwar-Klepoeg-Gari; 3, House of Bedil-Darilă; 4, House of Boedal-Rendah; 5, House of Mertă; 6, House of Soewakă; 7, Balé Bandjar of Koetoeh, meeting house of the men; 8, Poerâ Dalem, temple of the dead; 9, Poerâ Panataran, temple; 10, Poerâ Dêsâ and Poerâ Poeseh, village temple and temple of origin (common to the five bandjars); 11, Peken, village market place; 12, Poeri, "palace" of the Tjokordâ; 13, Balé Bandjar of Bandjar Mas; 14, Poerâ Nagasari, temple; 15, Poerâ Panti, temple; 16, Semâ, village graveyard and cremation place.

They say also that the youngest son has had, at the time of his father's death, less time to set himself up, and is therefore less able to fend for himself, than the others who have been married several years. Whatever the reasons, the rule is that the eldest or the youngest, not the intermediate son, inherits the paternal house. (See exception, pp. 23–24.)

The sixth child was another boy, who died in childhood. The seventh, Njoman Dog, another boy, who, although married for several years, has remained in the paternal house. He and his wife Rawi are now a part of Rendah's household. In Balinese this is called ngerob, "to share a kitchen." They say it is because Rendah is not strong, and Dog helps with the cultivation of Rendah's ricefields in return for sharing in the house. Rendah seems to have complete authority over Dog, and orders him about as his

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

children, who have no fixed sleeping places, but are apt to visit about with their elders.

In the balé siang-sangä, which is a sort of family sitting room, also without walls, a place is found for the younger brother Dog and his wife Rawi. There are three platforms, and the children may also sleep here if they please. When guests are spending the night Dog and Rawi give up to them the largest bed, on a slightly higher level, to do them honor.

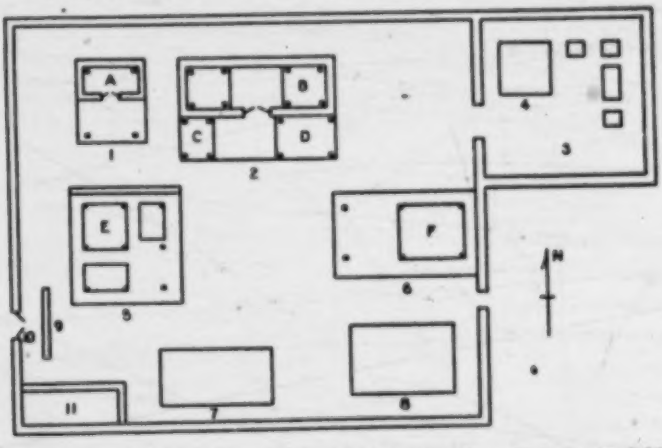


FIG. 4. Plan of the house of Rendah. 1, Balé Säkäpat, pavilion with four posts; 2, Metén, house with inner room; 3, Sanggah, household temple; 4, Balé Piasan, pavilion for offerings; 5, Balé Siang-sangä, pavilion with nine posts; 6, Balé Sakanem, pavilion with six posts; 7, Paon, kitchen; 8, Djineng, rice-storing place; 9, Aling-aling, magic wall; 10, Kori, gateway; 11, Pigs. A, Koti; B, Dajoeh, Ngetis; C, Rieh, Tjeremé; D, Rendah, Adä; E, Dog, Rawi; F, Kintil, Dapet.

Koti, the eldest sister who was married and divorced, sleeps in a little room in the balé säkäpat, which is reserved for her.

The kitchen stands opposite to the metèn. East of this is the high pointed-roofed djineng, the rice-storing place. Behind are the pigs and fowls. Immediately opposite the entrance gate, blocking the court from the view of passersby and the attacks of evil spirits, is the aling-aling, a single strip of wall. The gate is a sort of stile, covered over by a thatched roof—you go up steps, through a doorway, and down more steps onto the roadway without. Cut into the mud wall on either side of the gateway are small niches used for offerings.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

days, and then return to their home, and the congregation is obligated to entertain them during the time of their stay by means of complex offerings, elaborate rituals, and skillful artistic performances under the general direction of the temple priest and the secular head of the temple. The cost of the festivals, the rather large amounts of labor involved, and the general upkeep of the temples falls on each member of the congregation equally, and this group is typically organized in some fairly complicated manner to achieve these ends.

As mentioned, Kahyangan-Tiga membership is defined territorially, each Balinese belonging to just one of the sets. Nevertheless, one cannot say, as have most scholars, that he belongs to the temple of his "village," and thus that Kahyangan-Tiga can be translated "the three village temples," because only in the limiting case are the boundaries of the basic territorial political unit, here called the hamlet, and of the Kahyangan-Tiga congregation coterminous; in most instances, the religious and political units are not coordinate but cross-cut one another. Whatever the Balinese village may or may not be, it is not simply definable as all people worshiping at one set of Kahyangan-Tiga, because people so obligated to worship commonly form a group for no other social function—political, economic, familiar, or whatever. The congregation of the Kahyangan-Tiga is, in essence, a specifically religious body; in most cases it comes together only at the obligatory temple festivals.[1] Thus, the oft-repeated and much-loved rites at these temples serve to form one crucial bond among rural Balinese of a generally territorial sort, but this bond balances off against other bonds formed in terms of more concretely social activities rather than, as is typical of religious ties, directly reinforcing them.

Besides the Kahyangan-Tiga there are dozens of other types of temples, with different bases in terms of which their congregations are formed: there are ricefield temples, at which worship the men who own land within a particular irrigation society; there are kinship temples, supported by members of a single patriline; there are caste temples where only people with a given rank worship; there are associational temples formed on a voluntary companionate basis, their obligations being inherited by their descendents; there are state temples attended by people subject to a single lord, and so on. Again, some of these correspond to concrete social groups with other, nonreligious purposes, some do not; some are almost inevitably found, some but rarely; some are obligatory for all men, some are voluntary. Thus, by plotting temple types in a locality, one plots the general shape of the local social structure but not its specific outlines. The temple system of the Balinese countryside forms a relatively fixed stone and wood mold in terms of which rural social organization expresses itself, and the semi-annual festivals in each temple dramatize the sorts of ties out of which Balinese peasants build their collective life. But it does not stamp that life into any simple or unvarying form, for within the general mold the possibilities for variations in stress, combination, and adjustment of social elements seem almost limitless.

2. *Common Residence.* As most Indonesians, Balinese live in a clustered settlement pattern, their walled-in house-compounds jammed against each

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

●361 other in an almost urban fashion so as to conserve rice-land in the face of tremendously dense and growing population.[5] Within such clusters the basic territorial political unit is the hamlet, or *bandjar*. Bandjar, which may or may not be spatially isolated, depending upon the size of the settlement, contain anywhere from a dozen to several hundred nuclear families, averaging perhaps
621 about eighty or ninety. In most parts of Bali, the bandjar may be rather simply
344 defined as all those people subject to the decisions taken in one hamlet meeting
[623] house, or *balé bandjar*. Bandjar meetings of all male household heads are usually held in this balé once in a 35-day Balinese month, at which time all important policy decisions for the hamlet as a corporate unit are made, mainly by means of a "sense of the meeting" universal agreement process. As the temple is the focus of the religious community, so the meeting house—a wall-less, peaked-roof, Polynesian-looking structure usually located in the center of the hamlet—is the focus of the political community.[6]

621 To the bandjar are allocated the sort of general governmental and legal functions common to peasant communities in most parts of the world. It is responsible for local security, for the legitimation of marriage and divorce and the settlement of inheritance disputes, and for the maintenance of public works such as rural roads, the meeting house, and the local market sheds and cockpit. Commonly it will own a gamelan orchestra and perhaps dancing costumes and masks as well. As in many, but not all parts of Bali, house-land is corporately
[423] owned by the bandjar as a whole, the hamlet also may regulate the distribution
[681] of dwelling places, and so control immigration. For serious crimes it may even expel members, confiscating their house-land and denying them all local political rights—for the Balinese the severest of social sanctions.

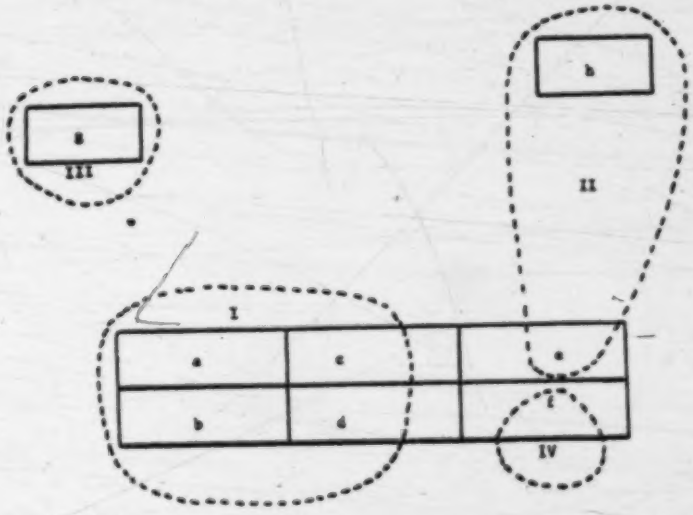
621 The hamlet also has significant tax powers. It may fine people for infrac-
651 tions of local custom, can demand contributions for public entertainments, repairs to civic structures, or social welfare activities more or less at will, and can exercise the right to harvest all rice land owned by bandjar members—the members as a whole acting as the harvesters—for a customary share of the product. Consequently, most bandjar have sizeable treasuries and may even own rice land, purchased out of income, the proceeds of which are also directed to public purposes. Nowadays, a few bandjar even own trucks or buses, others help finance local schools, yet others erect cooperative coffee shops.

621 Finally, the bandjar also acts as a communal work group for certain ritual
476 purposes, especially for cremations, which, along with temple festivals, are still
[764] the most important ceremonies in Bali, although their size and frequency have
[796] been reduced somewhat in the years since the war. When an individual family
[178] decides to cremate, all members of the bandjar are obligated to make customary contributions in kind and to work preparing the offerings, food, and paraphernalia demanded for as long as a month in advance. Similar cooperation, but of lesser degree, is often enjoined for other rites of passage, such as tooth filing, marriage, and death. The bandjar is thus at once a legal, fiscal, and ceremonial unit, providing perhaps the most intensely valued framework for peasant solidarity.

623 The heads of the hamlet are called *klian*, literally "elder." In some bandjar

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

those of one hamlet in the main cluster and one of the segregated ones, to a third set belong only the members of the other isolated hamlet, and to the fourth only those of the other hamlet in the major cluster:



The Village of Njalian

a = hamlets I = Kahyangan-Tiga sets

Even this rather involved diagram greatly oversimplifies the situation. In the first place, many people living in the territory of one hamlet are legally members of another. Further, the coordination of the temple sets with the hamlet boundaries is very recent, being instituted over strong opposition by the present Perbekel in 1950, and still very imperfect. Before the change, a man belonging to hamlet "a" would often belong to temple set IV, or a man in "c" to set I, and so on, and to some extent this still occurs, for traditional allegiances are difficult to reorganize by administrative fiat. Still further, the four bandjar in temple set I—"a", "b", "c", and "d"— are not really territorial at all; though the meeting houses involved are distributed as shown, members of the hamlets attached to them are randomly interspersed through the whole a-b-c-d area. This sort of nonterritorial hamlet organization is actually frequent in Bali and was ignored above for purposes of descriptive simplicity. Finally, in Njalian the unit cooperating at a cremation—called a *patus* —is not coincident with the hamlet as it is in most other places. Instead, hamlet "a" is divided into two such collective work groups for cremations, "b".

Flores OF9
Javanese OF5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4

[414 cont.]

005 important festivals and the ancestors.

F 361 Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which F [351 231] 343 are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are F [778 532] one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

I 361 The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An J outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. 361 Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is 351 quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the G number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers L quite a large area.

B Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central ●361 Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more 636 recently, under the influence of the Government and the 797

Minangkabau OD10
Java OE1

Batak OD5
Bali OF5
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4
Atjehnese OD4

G [415 cont.]
L
B2 Christian missions, to an ever greater extent in the areas where
361 formerly the village-fortress was customary. Thus, the native
636 village, as far as external arrangement is concerned, is develop-
797 ing more or less in the same direction as ours did in former times when the walled cities with their narrow and twisting streets were dismantled and rebuilt over a much larger area.

I Village Council House. In nearly all areas of the East Indies
344 Archipelago, besides the private houses there is also a small structure that has a public character and is used for transacting village affairs, among other things. Where the whole village actually consists of one large house, for example, among the Dajak of central Borneo, there is no special structure for the council meetings, and they are held in the communal front or central gallery.

A In Atjeh villages there is the meunasah, which serves as the
344 village prayer house, but also as the village gathering place and
Bt quarters for the unmarried adult men of the village and strangers.
344 Among the Karo-Batak the village council house is called djamboer, in Toba sopo, and in Simeloengoen (east of Lake Toba) balei. It has a very high, saddle-shaped roof, under which the rice reserves of the village are stored. It is also used as sleeping quarters for the unmarried adult youths and for strangers passing through. In the evenings it is a kind of village club where the news of the day is exchanged, but it is also the place where the various village interests are discussed.

M The name balai (balei) is also used in the Minangkabau lands,
344 where the building is used mainly as the village meeting house. The village meeting house is called balé in Palembang.

J On western Java, too, especially in the Tjirebon (Cheribon)
344 Residency, the name balé dèsa is used for [416] the special structure for village gatherings, while on central and eastern Java village gatherings are generally held in the house of the village chief. In the villages in the last-named areas, however, there are public structures, called langgar, that are used chiefly for the communal salat and for elementary Mohammedan religious instruction, but strangers are housed in them as well.